584 serves the father of his betrothed as one of his own
583 family till the girl comes of age, when the marriage is consummated, and he becomes a partner in the general property of the family of his father-in-law."

582 A man may marry a girl belonging to the same
612 village as himself, if he and she are not members of the
• 621 same exogamous sept. In most cases, however, all the inhabitants of a village are of the same sept, and a man has to take as his wife a girl from a village other than his own.

583 Among all sections of the Badagas, adult marriage is the general rule, though infant marriage is also practised.

584 Marriage is preceded by a simple form of courtship, but the consent of the parents to the union is necessary. A girl does not suffer in reputation if she is rejected by a number of suitors, before she finally settles down.

585 Except among the Udayas, the marriage ceremony is of
[184] a very simple nature. A day or two before that fixed for taking the girl to the house of her husband-elect, the latter proceeds to her village, accompanied by his brothers, who, as a token of respect, touch the feet of all the Badagas who are assembled. The bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom, accompanied by the Kota band. Arrived there, she stands at the entrance, and her mother-in-law or sister-in-law brings water in a vessel, and pours it into her hands thrice. Each time she lets the water fall over her feet. The mother-in-law then ties round her neck a string of beads (māle mani), and leads her to the outer room (edumane), where cooked sāmai (*Panicum miliare*) and milk is given to her. This she pretends to eat, and the bridegroom's sister gives her water to wash her hands with. The bride and two married women or virgins (preferably the bridegroom's sisters) go to a stream in procession, accompanied by the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

'Because of the trouble that the Mohammedan made for us ... we have come, making ourselves to escape. This country is yours ... We are helpless. You must help us.' Such is the Kota version. In response a council of Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas allowed the Badagas to settle provided they paid the now-customary tribute to these tribes (Harkness, 1832, 106–107; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 735–754; Rhiem, 1900, 498; Emeneau, 1946, 257; see below, 113–116). Not all Badagas migrated within a generation or two, and while some may have been fleeing from Moslem soldiers other bands came later for other reasons.

Clearly there were several waves of immigrants brought sometimes by famine conditions, sometimes by Moslem attempts at forcible conversion, sometimes perhaps by a Mysorean policy to colonize the hills. The Kotas are explicit that once a few Badagas had arrived more came over the succeeding years (Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 3; Emeneau, 1946, 259). The early explorers Ward (1821) and Harkness (1832) both recorded that the people had settled over many years, and Ward added that some had been 'invited' there by the chieftains of Ummattu:r, under whose suzerainty the Nilgiris had rested for a period. This story suggests that some Badagas, refugees from famine rather than Islam, had settled in the hills as part of a pacification programme aimed at increasing the revenue there.[10] Others, it is popularly believed, fled from Moslem rulers who wanted to marry or seduce good-looking Hindu girls. In search of refuge from this threat they travelled up to 150 km. On reaching the hills the women were given facial tattoos and dressed in white cloths (as they still are) to resemble Kota women, while men adopted the Toda shawl for greater warmth: in effect a conscious and lasting attempt was made to resemble the hill tribes and to adopt a tribal model of social organization.[11]

The early pattern of occupancy was one of scattered homesteads in widely separated parts of the plateau. These clusters of small wooden huts grew into lineage centres and so into villages, usually maintaining strict exogamy. Until the advent of *Pax Britannica* in the early nineteenth century, the houses were built around three sides of a plaza, with its open side facing downhill for defensive purposes. Today only De:na:du preserves that plan; the other villages, of which there are about 370, are made up of several parallel lines of houses running along a hillside. Traditionally the senior brother among the patrilineal descendants of the founder

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

592 (593) (178) increasingly loath to share a relatively high income with his extended family. Thus large joint families are no longer as common as they were half a century ago: an average Badaga household today contains only 5.5 members, and the range in size is from one to perhaps twenty.

LINEAGE

613 Several joint families able to agree on precisely how they are descended from a common male ancestor consider themselves a *minimal* or a *minor lineage* (in Baḍagu, *guppu*). This is an exogamous and patrilineal group living in a single village and is the most important lineage for members, often the only one they know by name. It tends to split into two lineages every four or five (426) generations. The *guppu* is a unit within which interest-free loans are obtained and which even today has a buffalo herd in common. It no longer holds land in common, though at its inception the joint family of the founder did, and each descendant is still entitled to a proportion of his land. This lineage tends to hold family ceremonies together. If further participants are wanted at such ceremonies the remainder of the *major lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kutti*) can be invited. This consists of at least two minor lineages the leaders of which can trace their ancestry back to a common founder. Very often the major lineages in one or several neighbouring villages 613 • 621 summate to a *maximal lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kuḍumbu*) and responsible members can trace their actual descent from its founder, too. All levels of lineage can be referred to by a founder's name, though in many villages no more than one level is now recognized. Lineages of all levels may be invited to attend family ceremonies.

From the example in Diagram 6 it can be seen that a maximal lineage has a depth of about seven generations. As at O:ranayi the maximal lineage is very often coterminous with the village, which explains the exogamy of most villages. There are, however, some exceptional villages, notably those of the Wodeas and Toreas, and of the Gaudas of So:lu:ru commune and Ha:sanu:ru, which contain several distinct lineages from *different* clans within each village; so that while exogamy still marks the lineage it is not characteristic of the villages.

613 There is a strong sense of lineage solidarity, strongest at the minor level but still significant at the maximal. In case of a dispute

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

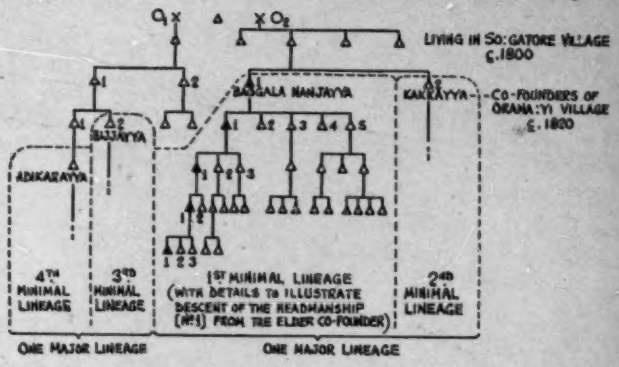

Diagram 6. O:ranayi village: A maximal lineage.

613 with someone outside the villager's own lineage, be it minimal, minor, major or maximal, his fellow members are usually willing to support him even though this means agreeing to false evidence. Such behaviour helps keep land and other valuables within the lineage and can also uphold the good name of a lineage and the village it inhabits. Solidarity is also expressed when a man wants 613 to sell some land. He must offer it first to other members of his 423 minimal or minor lineage, then to his major lineage, then to his maximal, then to any other inhabitants of his village, then to people in neighbouring villages. Only in the unusual case when nobody in this sequence will buy may he offer the land to Badagas from elsewhere. The land surrounding each village is typically owned by families of that village only.

CLAN

614 Several maximal lineages make up the *clan* (in American terminology, the *sib*). Like the lineage the clan is exogamous; but it is (121) rarely confined to a single village. A lineage embraces all the patrilateral descendants of a known common ancestor (Schusky, 1965, 77) whereas a clan, made up of two or more lineages, is a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

614 (162) 3,500 people who inhabit sixteen villages scattered across the plateau. Though they should only marry with Ha:ruvas or Kaṇakkas, in the past eighty years a few Adikiri people have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore villages. It is rare on the other hand for a girl to go from the Nilgiris to Mysore in marriage. There have also been a few irregular cases of vegetarian Adikiris marrying meat-eating Gaudas (but never meat-eating Adikiris).

(621) The Adikiri villages come closer to being a corporate group than any of the other clans, except for the two tiny phratries of Kumba:ras and Be:das. This solidarity stems from the fact that Adikiris, alone of all the clans, hold an 'annual reunion'. Every (796) November they go to the village of Nellitore, on the Coimbatore Plain, to worship at the place where a Lingayat saint was drowned. It was from this point that the original six Adikiris started up into the Nilgiris.[14] Today it is obligatory for at least a few men from each Adikiri village to attend the annual function, to which members of other Badaga clans are also welcome.

(771) Despite this demonstration of Adikiri solidarity there have been several defections from the clan and its Lingayat values. In one village (Sakkata) Adikiris married with Toreas a few generations ago and now are treated as Toreas although sometimes called Adikiris. In one other Gauda village (So:lu:ru) Adikiris have intermarried with meat-eating Gaudas. In both these situations the soi-disant Adikiris are no longer vegetarians or Lingayats (Metz, 1864, 50–51). The three other meat-eating Adikiri villages do not dine with Toreas, but they may take a meal in the inner room of a Gauda house. In two villages of vegetarian Adikiris the *liṅga* is not worn, but the inhabitants retain the name and status of Adikiris and belong to the same clan, though they are not considered Lingayat.[15]

614 264 Adikiris and Kanakkas eat only in the houses of Wodeas, Ha:ruvas and Koṅgaru, where they can feel sure of receiving the correctly prepared vegetarian dishes. Adikiris, like Kaṇakkas, admit Ha:ruvas, Kaggusis and other Lingayats to the inner room for meals (though Wodeas refuse to eat with them). Meat-eating Adikiris, Gaudas and Toreas, as well as Todas, may only eat in the outer room, while other Nilgiri tribesmen may not enter the house at all.

KAṆAKKAS

614 (162) There are perhaps three thousand Kaṇakkas. Although now

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 villages, however, the Kurumba watchman has these duties.[19] It is recorded that in the nineteenth century they were also 'weaving a kind of sackcloth',[20] but today neither they nor anyone else can recall this activity.

(627) (623) Alone of all phratries the Toreas are under a slight disadvantage in the Badaga judicial system. In villages where other Badagas also live they may find that, while being permitted to bring cases to the village or commune council and to sit through its deliberations, they must not take part in the discussion that leads (622) up to the headman's decision. A Torea village headman who is excluded from a meeting of the commune council may not complain about such demeaning treatment in the way that any (769) other headman in the commune undoubtedly would. The depressed status of Toreas is symbolized by the fact that during the great memorial ceremonies for a deceased generation *(Manemale)* the Toreas have a separate, smaller catafalque beside the main one.

615 628 Many of the twenty-six Torea villages are adjuncts to Gauda villages, set off from them by a mere stone's throw; but a group of nine Torea villages on the eastern edge of the plateau are so isolated that their only close contact is with the Wodeas of De:na:du.

615 614 Toreas have two clans, and in many villages both are represented. Despite the well-known precedents in other phratries, they have not begun to marry non-Toreas.

• 621 The Toreas can be offered vegetarian food in the houses of all higher phratries and meat in those which habitually eat it themselves. Recently some Gaudas have interdined with Toreas on 615 an equal footing, in their inner rooms, although traditionally none 264 of the other groups would allow Toreas into the inner, more sacred room; they were expected to eat in the outer one. 'If they should eat food with other Badagas, the Toreyas must clear away all remnants of the feast—nobody else will help' (Benbow, 1930, 11). No other phratry, not even the Christians, will accept food in the house of a Torea (Tignous, 1911, 117). In terms of the commensality rules pertaining elsewhere in India the Toreas may therefore have the appearance of a low or untouchable caste; and it is true that, Christians apart, they are the lowest of the Badaga phratries. 609 There is nevertheless a Badaga rule that 'foreigners' and plainsmen may not enter the inner room of any Badaga house: they may be offered food only on the veranda or in the outer room. Badaga

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

609 commensal rules, valid as much among Toreas as among higher phratries, have often come as a surprise to visiting Brahmins, who find themselves excluded from the more sacred room or from receiving food there. Badagas, even Toreas, do not recognize high ritual status when found outside the Nilgiri system. The plains Brahmins of course rationalize the rebuff by considering the Badagas as Śudras, through whom no Brahmin would pollute himself by accepting their often non-vegetarian food.[21]

HA:SANU:RU BADAGAS

361 The eight villages of this community, lying in the low Biligiri
●621 Rangan Hills some forty kilometers northeast of the Nilgiris,
614 belong to eleven clans which are distinct from those of the plateau.
615 These clans form three phratries—Wodea, Gauda and Torea. A clan of Ha:ruvas is within the Gauda phratry.

614 The two Wodea clans rank highest; they intermarry with each other, with Wodeas of the Nilgiris, and recently with the Wodea caste inhabiting villages near Sa:mara:jnagar (southern Mysore). Like other Wodeas those of Ha:sanu:ru are vegetarian and Lingayat. They allow the Ha:ruva clan to eat in the inner room of their houses, but for the past century since they began intermarriage with Mysore villages these Wodeas have stopped allowing other Badagas (who are non-vegetarian) to eat in their houses.

At the other end of the social hierarchy are two clans of Toreas, who intermarry chiefly with the two clans of Nilgiri Toreas, but also with neighbours of the opposite clan in Kottadai, their village near Ha:sanu:ru, and in some cases these Toreas have intermarried with the Torea caste found near Sa:mara:jnagar.

Between these two poles are four Ha:ruva families and about one hundred and fifteen Gauda families; (the Wodeas number about twenty five families, and Toreas twenty). The Ha:ruvas and Gaudas are divided into seven clans (see Diagram 7), generally identified by their place of origin in the Nilgiris. Members of each clan may intermarry with any of the other six clans, and also with Gaudas of the Nilgiris. However, because of their common origin, the Gaudas of Ku:kalu clan, for example, may not marry Gaudas from Ku:kalu village in the Nilgiris.

(615) There is a sort of hierarchy within this phratry, Ku:kalu clan and the Ha:ruvas ranking higher than the others. Ku:kalu

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Kurumba headman should notify the Kota headman that they will be playing at a certain Badaga village; and the Badaga inviting them should first get permission from the Kota headman to do so.[22] This set of rules is no longer followed since the feelings of Kota headmen are not respected now that Badaga/Kota relations have in general been broken off.

Until the 1930s when the institution of commune watchman began to lose currency, the Kurumba got a quarter rupee each month for every pair of oxen in the commune, or more often its equivalent in grain.[23] At harvest time he would also receive the same sum or else six litres of new grain collected from the villagers by the headman's assistant. In addition he and his family would be fed whenever in the commune.[24] The Kurumba could also rely on Badagas to satisfy all of his clothing needs, for which purpose the headman would first collect grain from the villagers with which to purchase the cloth by barter from the visiting Chetti trader. An early claim (Harkness, 1832, 109, note) that the commune Kurumba could inherit a Badaga's estate when there were no traceable heirs has never been recorded since and would not be possible today.

When a Kurumba watchman dies the headman of the Badaga commune should collect some gifts from the villagers and take them, or have them sent, to the bereaved family. This used to be imperative to secure the goodwill of the family from which the next watchman would also be drawn.

In the pre-British days the Kurumba watchmen got their only salt and crude sugar from Badagas who made annual expeditions to the plains for such needs. These had largely ceased by 1825.

BADAGAS AND IRULAS

The only Badagas having any regular contact with Irulas are those near Ha:sanu:ru and those living in the eastern sector of the Nilgiris. In this latter area Badagas probably—and erroneously—treat the Irulas as a section of the Kurumba tribe, and hence their interrelationship approximates that between Badagas and Kurumbas elsewhere on the plateau.

One of the highest mountains (1788 m.) in that particular area is Rangasa:mi Peak (Metz, 1864, 65-66; Nicholson, 1898, 426-427; Noble, 1976, 124), important in Nilgiri culture because it is crowned by a Vaishnavite shrine (actually two megalithic circles of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 (233) hundred buffaloes permanently in the Moyar Ditch under the charge of Kasuvas because of shortage of grazing around Be:ragani itself. The herdsmen are paid from temple funds.

177 796 As in the case of Kurumbas, Irulas and Uralis, a Kasuva band may perform at Badaga ceremonies in place of the customary Kota one. Aside from this, there is one annual ceremonial event which has brought the two communities together in considerable numbers over the past decade or so. This is a complex *pu:ja* to the goddess Sikkamma at her Kasuva-owned temple in the Moyar Ditch, held every March. Roughly five thousand Badagas and most Kasuvas attend, the highlights of the event being *pu:ja*, a free meal, and a noisy night-time procession with the goddess' image mounted on an electrically lit elephant.

BADAGAS AND URALIS

648 177 The Uralis are a tribe of gatherers and shifting cultivators who inhabit jungles on some southern slopes of the plateau. They have no regular connexion with Badagas, but as they are feared for their sorcery they can depend on alms from Badaga villagers should a crop failure force them to wander up onto the plateau, as it occasionally has. Under unusual circumstances Badagas may pay a band of Uralis to perform music at a ceremony when for some reason Kotas cannot be invited.

THE WAINAD GAUDAS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

● 621 (173) The Wainad Gaudas are Badagas who settled on the lower plateau some two centuries ago. In proximity to them are various other groups: Kotas, Chettis, Panias, Irulas, Kurumbas and until 1925 some Todas. The Gaudas, a dominant community in the area, cultivate dry and irrigated rice. They claim it was the desire for rice which had prompted their ancestors to move down into the Wainad from Badaga villages on the Nilgiri Plateau.

621 (162) (623) The community consists only of Gaudas, except one commune which also has some Toreas (now calling themselves Gaudas). The 951 people live in ten communes, each made up of a few hamlets containing one lineage. Every commune has a council, and for complex cases a council of all the Wainad communes is held at

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Pandalu:ru village. This system thus parallels that of the Nilgiri Badagas but does not link up with theirs: cases cannot, for example, be referred to the paramount chief of the Badagas in Tu:ne:ri, and he does not invite Wainad Gaudas to his councils. The head of the all-Wainad council is someone noted for his justice, called the Great Headman (*dodda gauda*); he is selected from any of the communes. Each commune is headed by a man termed the *jammaka:ra*, under whom there are two or three lesser headmen (*kudiare*). Both of these offices are inherited fraternally; i.e., they pass from brother to brother in order of seniority, then on to the eldest brother's eldest son, and so on. Each *kudiare* is responsible for the descendants from one particular Nilgiri division: in Kolepalli, for example, there are two such headmen because its population is descended from Todana:du and Me:kuna:du villagers. As in the hills, a legal dispute passes up this hierarchy from the *kudiare* to the Great Headman if necessary.

These Gaudas have maintained some marriage connexions with Nilgiri Gaudas, even with families of the gentry. Several communes still intermarry with the Nilgiri Badagas of So:lu:ru; but more generally all of the communes marry endogamously or exogamously within the Wainad community. Their constituent hamlets, being single lineages, are always exogamous.[26]

There is a nineteenth-century account of trading parties of Wainad Gaudas regularly visiting the Me:kuna:du village of Ke:ti (and presumably elsewhere on the plateau), bringing with them buffaloes and gold dust 'for sale' (B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41).

These Gaudas had no connection with the Todas who, until the 1920s, lived on the edge of the Wainad, but some do maintain an exchange relationship with the Kotas there and also with certain Irulas and Kurumbas. The Kota partner from Gudalu:ru provides pottery as well as a pole used in Gauda funerals, to which he should also bring Kota musicians. He helps, too, with house building (Ranga, 1934, 26). In return he gets an occasional buffalo. Irulas and Kurumbas may also provide music for the funerals. Like the Panias they are valued as basket-makers but have no reputation for sorcery here as they do elsewhere. The Kurumba watchman institution is not encountered in the Wainad.

Gauda landowners have a special relationship with the Pania tribe, some of whom were their praedial slaves.[27] As if to justify this situation some Wainad natives claim the Panias originated as African slaves who escaped from two British ships in Calicut

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32: Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *paloł*.

17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *paloł's* cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkane:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family: see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by Government action in 1976.

28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *pagya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

463

Table 3. *Occupations of the interviewed males, 1963*

		Rural Badagas	*All other Nilgiri rural communities*
I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%	30.7%
II	Agricultural labourer	5.0%	32.3%
III	Forestry and livestock	0.0%	7.4%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%	5.8%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%	1.6%
VI	Construction	4.0%	2.6%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%	6.9%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%	4.2%
IX	Teaching and 'professions'	13.0%	5.3%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%	3.2%
		(*n*=301)	(*n*=189)

178 184 182 619 •[621]

The 1970s find an increasing number of young, college-educated Badagas settling in towns with their wives and taking well-paid jobs. These people still observe community endogamy, but in other respects their behaviour suggests that the distinctive identity of the Badaga community is nearing its end. It is no longer uncommon for urban Badagas to address rural Badagas in Tamil rather than their own language: ashamed of the state government's designation of their people as a 'Backward Class',[28] they are trying to merge with the South Indian city society and deny what they consider an 'uncivilized' parentage. Few such people regularly visit their native villages now. Once marriage with non-Badagas increases and becomes acceptable the palisade around their community will have fallen.

NOTES

175 651

1. Even though there was no tax-farmer on the plateau to harrass them until 1807; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 247.

175 179

2. Harkness, 1832, 138, note; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 17; Grigg, 1880, 455–456; Francis, 1908, 167; Price, 1908, 23; Hockings, 1973, 867. According to Metz, 1864, 5, Sullivan came to the Nilgiris 'at the solicitation of the hill-people themselves'. Sullivan, in a letter to the Board of Revenue in 1819, explained that 'the inhabitants are extremely anxious to have their lands measured, under an idea that they are paying more than they ought to do'; Grigg, 1880, 280. Another early influence on Badaga farming may have been the experimental farm for European crops operating at Ke:ti from 1830 to

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

One day a respectable man interrupted Br. Metz by remarking that through his new doctrine their gods had lost much of the respect and reverence in which they were formerly held and this he said was the cause of the great drought and all their misfortunes. . . . Just at this time he was interrupted . . . by a body of people dragging a dead calf along with them and accusing a Toda boy of having killed it by witchcraft. (B.E.M.S., 1858, no. 18, 91–92; the Toda was rescued by Metz; see Metz, 1864, 22–24, 34).

The last known instance of Badagas killing a supposed Toda sorcerer, around 1895, was in retaliation for the death of a Badaga child (Rivers, 1906, 261; Francis, 1908, 144).

Factionalism

There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850s. The challenging question that this poses must therefore remain unanswered: was the emergence of factional disputes really a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were theoretically on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We have no means of knowing.

There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word.[16] First, there are what might be called 'personal' factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single village about someone's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga villages, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single village (B.E.M.S., 1889, no. 50, 67–68; Anonymous, 1894, 547–551; Eppler, 1900, 153–155).

From these nineteenth-century descriptions several accounts

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

127 might be culled of the process by which factional behaviour starts. However, because of the partisan attitude in the early mission writings, a more recent example of faction formation is preferable. 518 The following case is a summary of my informant's account (the 621 name is fictitious). What happened prompted the formation of two [124] factions, although the division was probably founded in part on earlier experiences and previous disputes.

In 1963 when one village was preparing to stage a funeral the headman asked every household to donate three meals for the expected visitors. One man, Ajja, was requested to prepare four meals, perhaps by mistake; and he did as asked, only to find that nobody came to his house to eat them. Why this was so is not clear; but apparently Ajja was not a very pleasant person to get along with. He demanded a refund of the cost of the meals from the general village funds, but the headman decided to do nothing about it. This situation divided the village into two separate communities.

At first only three households closely related to him supported Ajja; but after another funeral in the village, other people belonging to the same lineage as those three households found themselves drawn into Ajja's faction. At this point the village council led by the headman forbade any women to help members of Ajja's faction with such tasks as working in their fields. Because of this proscription a number of women were forced to join Ajja's faction: they perhaps had no strong feelings about the actual dispute, but were too poor to forego the Rs. 1½ they were earning as daily labourers.

Thus within a few weeks from the start of the grievance typical factional behaviour was characterizing interaction in this village: no one was supposed to talk to members of the opposite faction or to visit their houses and eat with them. In effect, what had been a single village now took on the organization of two non-communicating but interdigitated villages. Within two months from the initial funeral there was a complete break-down in village cooperation at the celebration of festivals: each faction celebrated its own separately from the other.

Yet some ten weeks after the dispute began there were already signs that the factional structure was falling apart. No longer could a rigid separation be maintained between the two

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

578 •621 factions. Members of one were paying supposedly secret visits at the back doors of friends in the opposite faction: but everybody knew what was really going on. Already it was acceptable behaviour to talk to members of the other faction on the street, so long as no interdining occurred. The break-up of the factional organization was spear-headed by women from other villages who had married into this one. In a number of instances there were pairs of sisters from another village who were married to men of opposite factions. In such cases the sisters felt seriously inconvenienced in being separated by a dispute which did not really concern them; and they took every opportunity to meet secretly and interact with each other across the cleavage that was currently separating their husbands. Nobody in the village really expected the factions to become more rigid: slowly but surely these kinship ties were bringing the two sides together.

578 By comparison with such frequent and short-term factional disputes as this example, the all-Nilgiri factions are few but long-lived. Altogether only a half-dozen of these are known, only two of them antedating this century.

The first major factionalism we know of, and certainly the most important if judged by its effects, was that engendered by the conversions that split the community into Christians and Hindus.

578 614 The second major dispute in Badaga history emerged in 1897 and, like the first, is still the basis for a factional cleavage today. Whether this dispute was triggered by the tensions which mission activity and other trials of that period generated is nowhere clearly indicated in our sources. Initially it was only a dispute over which Ha:ruvas should first walk on the fire during their annual festival for the god Mahalinga at Me:lu:ru—those of Maṇihaṭṭi or those of Taṅga:ḍu.[17] (By 1897 both these villages had mission schools, but Taṅga:ḍu, though ritually inferior, was much wealthier than Maṇihaṭṭi). The dispute grew, and the entire Ha:ruva clan consolidated to claim superiority in status over the Wodeas and all other groups. The Ha:ruvas and certain other Badagas who support them—pre-eminently in Gauda villages of Kundena:ḍu division—believe the Ha:ruvas were of the high Brahmin *varna* before they left Mysore to settle in the Nilgiris. In support of this belief they cite the facts that they belong to the Brahma sept, they have always been priests for the non-vegetarian Badagas, they are strict vegetarians themselves and they wear a thread across the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

much less effective as a source of news than is the press. It was also found that the farther away from towns respondents live, the less information they get from friends and the more from newspapers: only for items of local news are friends everywhere more effective than newspapers as channels of communication. When a Tamil newspaper reaches a village it commonly circulates and is read aloud to a much larger number of people than one copy could reach in a town. The wide circulation of papers and the presence of well-educated men even in out-of-the-way villages helps explain the unusually high levels of knowledge about the world beyond the Nilgiris that Badagas now command.

NETWORKS OF COMMUNICATION

Beside the traditional marriage and exchange networks which supplied Badagas with their basic needs, there have always been social networks through which important information has passed by word of mouth. These have been modified and amplified in the present century and have become linked to some extent with the mass media (on networks, see Hockings, 1977, *passim*).

In Hulla:da, a typical Badaga village, there are now four types of network: intra-village, inter-village, inter-tribal and a new type, village-and-town. Each of these categories can be subdivided according to the following outline.

Intra-Village Networks

There were in 1963 several different adult male *loci* for decision making and opinion formation. The most important here, as in nearly every village, were these:

(1) the traditional council, and especially the village headman;
(2) the festival committee;
(3) elders of the four indigenous lineages and of a fifth composite group of more recently settled families;
(4) three middle-aged, influential men;
(5) the local Swatantra Party organizer;
(6) the educated young men.

Two or three of these groupings may operate together in popularizing an idea or solving a problem that faces the village. In a class by

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

themselves are the women's work-groups, small cliques of village wives who work together in the fields and elsewhere, exchanging gossip and favours in the process. These female networks link up with the male ones through the wives of influential men (cf. Plate 10).

The sequence of contacts that have to be made if someone in the village is to influence or be influenced by people in the above list constitutes an intra-village network.

Inter-Village Networks

Two kinds of network fall under this heading, one linking agnates, the second affines. The first are ritual and juridical networks, linking up with distantly related men in other villages of the commune. This commune was first settled, it is claimed, by a man who founded the maximal lineage to which nearly all of the inhabitants belong. Hulla:ḍa people mostly belong to one of the three major lineages, this one established by Koṅga Hetappa, one of the commune founder's three sons. Within Hulla:ḍa and a nearby village (Ke:ti) the lineage is further divided into four minimal lineages, each descended from one of Koṅga Etappa's four sons. The more important festivals are celebrated in common by all sixteen villages in the commune, using ritual personnel from any of these villages. Serious problems are discussed by all the village headmen at the commune council. Hulla:ḍa villagers can establish contact with the wealthiest and most influential men in the commune by activating these two networks, either through a village headman or through a friend who has helped in the rituals.

Secondly, the marriage and visiting networks link Hulla:ḍa with villages beyond this commune. Marriages account for a network of social contacts with nearly two dozen other villages, and these are frequently activated by informal visits and by attendance at the festivals, weddings and funerals of affines. Small loans may be sought along these networks (Hockings, in press).

Inter-Tribal Networks

The Badagas of Hulla:ḍa were linked for certain economic and ritual purposes with particular Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas and Chettis. For the most part these associations have fallen into

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AN50 Badaga AN50

salt being one of the few items that the hill people used to carry up from market towns on the plains during their annual trading expeditions.[6] We may perhaps infer that the salt-giving was already a ceremony from the tradition that the men in these parties who were carrying salt specifically to give to their buffaloes were supposed to keep themselves in a ritually pure state, and were not allowed to carry any other trade items at the same time. One man would therefore carry salt for a number of men in the trading party, and they in turn would carry his purchases. Salt intended for domestic use was never treated with such reverence. Once a market had been established in the new British hill town of Ootacamund, *ca.* 1825, these old trading expeditions fell into abeyance because the Badagas could then purchase salt without having to leave the hills.[6]

The annual ceremony of giving "new-grass salt," called *'ka:ruppu*, is performed separately by each hamlet in March of every year, on the Monday that falls within the eight days following the new moon. At about the time of the new moon itself one man is selected from every household in each hamlet to represent that family; generally the head of the family assumes the role, unless the purificatory preparations are too burdensome for him.

Early in the morning of the ceremony, after the house has been purified, each of these men goes out to his cattle shed and brings in the salt he has purchased. This coarse salt is then powdered in a mortar inside the house with a special iron bar supplied by the Kota craftsmen.

At the appropriate time the hamlet headman comes along each street calling out, "Are you ready?" Each celebrant then picks up his powdered salt in its basket[7] and stands near the doorway. At a signal from the headman, the man who represents the Great House (i.e., that of the hamlet's founding family) is the first to leave his doorway. He goes and stands on the village green, and all of the other men selected immediately come out and line up behind him. They then start off for the stream where the salt-feeding will take place. The man from the Great House stays in the lead. At some distance behind this party of celebrants other members of their families follow, driving the cattle or just coming along to watch; but no women can be present.

This group goes to the bank of a stream near the hamlet, carrying their baskets of salt, iron rods, pots, and hoes. Near the stream the man from the Great House digs a shallow, round hole with his hoe, two to three feet wide and a foot deep. The other men then follow suit, each using his own hoe to dig a hole for his own cattle. During the present century, however, the Badaga cattle herds have become much smaller than before, and so only one man from each lineage is usually selected to dig a pit for all the cattle belonging to that lineage. (Generally a Badaga hamlet is made up of three or four lineages, one at least of which is recognized as having descended from the hamlet founder.) After each of these pits has been dug, the loose dirt in it is brushed out with a branch of the *'hubbe* plant.[8]

The sun is now in the east, for it is still morning. When the pits have been dug, the man from the Great House takes a handful of salt from his

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

threshold first; to plant the left foot before the right would bring the ceremony to a most inauspicious end.

Even though the ceremony has concluded, the men who have performed in it take various precautions to insure that they retain their state of purity for the remainder of the day. The meal that they eat is a vegetarian one; thus they avoid polluting themselves and their houses by having meat cooked on this occasion. To start the meal with butter is very auspicious, since eating butter is in Badaga thinking a sign of affluence and good luck. When the men have finished the meal they are careful to wash in cold water—the prescribed means of washing whenever Badagas wish to remain in a pure state. Afterwards they can clean and repair the cattle shed if they wish, for this is a meritorious act performed in a sacred place. Otherwise the only permitted activities are the cleaning of their clothes and of themselves.

Finally, we must consider the social relations which are given expression during the ceremony. The various sources of the community's welfare and of its power structure are reflected in the ceremony, albeit in symbolic reference. The family is represented usually by its male head, otherwise by a chosen male representative. The lineage is nowadays symbolized in the common pit used by all the cattle of each lineage. The entire hamlet community is represented in concerted action by the party of men who come from every household in the hamlet, as well as by the man from the Great House who is the living descendant of the founding ancestor.

One curious element is the habit of feeding each celebrant afterwards in the outer, less sanctified, room of his house. Men regularly eat in the inner room; the people who normally must eat in the outer room are the women and all visitors from lower-status phratries of the Badaga community. It would seem that the man who gives salt to his cattle is confident of his own ritual purity and that of his entire house on this occasion. By eating in the outer room he suggests that status differences between men and women, and between his phratry and others, are of no importance provided ritual purity prevails. This attitude is also reflected in other aspects of Badaga culture: people of higher and lower ranking clans intermarry, both hypergamously and hypogamously, and members of lower ranking phratries sometimes participate in the temple rituals of higher phratries without polluting the temples.

Women are excluded altogether from the salt-giving ceremony, if only because there is a risk that the presence of a ritually unclean woman might subvert the benefits looked for from God on this auspicious occasion. And yet the women do play a necessary "backstage" role in cleaning the house, decorating it, bringing in water, and cooking the meal. Segregation of women from the ceremony underlines a basic fact of hamlet organization: the hamlet is exogamous, and hence all wives in it are "outsiders," members initially of other hamlets. Furthermore, women inherit neither land nor cattle. Symbolically the ceremony concludes an annual pact between the men and God for the fruitful blessing of crops, cattle, and children, all of which in Badaga law belong to men alone. Even so, the oldest woman

631 colonization of this rather inaccessible area. The recency of its settlement,
[166] when compared with other parts of the Nilgiris, is suggested by the fact that the name of the division lying directly to the east of it is Merkunad -- which means "Western District". It is also common when people are talking about the plateau divisions to use the set phrase, "all the four districts, including Kunda", as though it were somehow exceptional to consider Kunda a district at all.

The fifth division, Malnad, though inhabited by a very few Badagas (or Wynaad Gaudas), Kotas, and -- until 40 years ago -- Todas, is generally thought of by these three tribes as an alien land; and it was certainly not integrated into the indigenous political system in the way that the other four divisions were.

[657] This subdivision of the Nilgiris was taken over by the British for administrative purposes, and continued in use until the early years of the present century, when it was superceded by a redivision of the District into three talukas. The rural inhabitants have however continued to think primarily in terms of their indigenous divisions in matters which involve the Nilgiri-wide social system and its juridical processes.

632 Each of these areas is divided into a number of "villages", usually bet-
(631) ween ten and twenty of them. Each "village" in turn consists of a varying number
(621) of neighboring hamlets belonging normally to any one of the six phratries. One hamlet, not necessarily the largest nor even of the highest-ranked phratry, takes permanent precedence and gives its name to the entire "village".

[162] Thus Ketti, for example, is an average-sized "village" in Merkunad with a Badaga population of about 5000. It consists of 17 hamlets, the chief one
621 being Ketti, largely a Gauda hamlet. On one side of this hamlet there are eleven
615 Toreya houses, and on the other side, separated from the Badagas slightly, are

621 615 the houses of numerous recent settlers from the plains, most of them agricultural laborers. Nine other hamlets in Ketti "village" are exclusively Gauda; two are Wodeya; one is Haruva; three contain both Adikaris and Gaudas; and one, built in the last century, contains Protestant and Catholic Christians, not only Badagas but also Tamilian, Mysorean and Malayali Christians and even a few Toda ones.

648 000 Toda settlements are not included in such a village network. Many reasons for this can be advanced: this is a system controlled mainly by Badagas, whereas few Todas live close to any Badaga settlements. Apart from that, the Todas have their own juridical system; they migrate back and forth across the plateau with their buffaloes; and in general Toda social organization is so different from that of Kotas and Badagas that it would have very little "fit" with a politico-juridical system that links Kota and Badaga farming communities. (I am told by Dr. Emeneau, however, that the Todas refer to juridical links between specific Toda clans and specific Badaga villages, when they tell of how they may call upon a Badaga headman to help adjudicate a Toda quarrel.) By contrast with the Toda settlements, 632 648 Kota ones are constituent hamlets of otherwise Badaga "villages" in most places; but in one case a Kota hamlet (Kol-mel) is the chief one, while the other five hamlets making up its "village" belong to various high-ranking Badaga sibs. This particular situation, explained by the Badagas as a "historical accident", is remarkable because it gives the Kotas a political advantage over several Badaga hamlets although all Badagas in that "village" still consider the Kotas there as socially lower.

621 (622) At each level in this political organization there is a headman. Nearly every hamlet has one, although small hamlets sometimes remain without an incumbent for many years. Their councils meet, nevertheless, when a problem

621 arises. The headman of each chief hamlet is called "village headman", and is responsible for all hamlets in his "village". In each of the four divisions the head-
632 man of one particular "village" is also divisional headman. In Todanad, further-
631 more, the headman of Tuneri hamlet and "village" -- a Badaga -- is not only divisional headman of Todanad as well, but in addition is "President" of the Nilgiris (i.e. Chief of all Badagas). Similarly, the headman of Balakola hamlet is not only headman of Merkunad division, but is also Vice-President of the Nilgiris. (The terms "president" and "vice-president" have been used here as loose translations of the complicated Badagu terms, and do not reflect any British influence on the local political organization.) For any judgment at the supreme level, both the President and the Vice-President have to take part in the council.

Except under unusual circumstances, including incompetence, these
(428) offices are hereditary at all levels, and are passed from father to eldest son. The
(627) village and divisional boundaries are all inflexible; although before the British land
(648) settlement (the authentication of land holdings, made during the 1880's), neighboring divisions occasionally staked the solution of a boundary dispute on the results of a tug-of-war between mixed teams of Badagas, Todas and Kotas from the two divisions involved.

Traditionally the headman has two kinds of duty to perform: he must take
622 charge of the organization of any festivals and public ceremonies in his hamlet or
632 village, and he must try to settle disputes. Let us consider each of these duties in turn.

Some of the annual festivals are celebrated separately in each hamlet, others are celebrated by a "village" as an entirety. In the first case a hamlet headman would be in charge, and in the second the "village" headman would be.

632 When a festival has to be organized that only concerns perhaps one of the phratries (615) resident in a "village", the relevant hamlets call together their own multi-hamlet committee to handle the matter without calling upon the "village" headman to organize the celebration. It is only for festivals that concern nearly all of the hamlets that he will take charge of the organization. No festivals are celebrated 619 796 jointly by a division, or by the whole Nilgiri population, largely because the distances to be traveled are too great and the number of participants would be unmanageably large. Funerals are always treated as public ceremonies, and weddings quite 796 often are. Other life-cycle ceremonies can be treated as public ones, but very (621) rarely are. In any case, when a life-cycle ceremony is treated as a public celebration, it is only celebrated in the hamlet of the people most closely concerned. Personal ceremonies are not celebrated at the "village" or any higher level. (This does not of course preclude inviting visitors from other "villagers" or divisions.)

623 The headman does not make the arrangements for these various celebra- (622) tions of his own accord. His hamlet generally has a council for settling disputes, and also a festival committee consisting of the priests and a few elderly men. The latter not only organize festivals, but occasionally may plan to build a new temple or propitiate an uncooperative deity. (Arrangements for life-cycle ceremonies, unlike public festivals, are mainly in the hands of the family concerned.) The elders on the hamlet council are generally different individuals than those on the (428) festival committee; this is a convenient division of the labor involved. But in either (562) case the positions are quite often hereditary, and are never held by women. The (888) elders are typically the older males of all lineages represented in a hamlet; it is they who are in the best position to enforce council decisions among all of their

582 between the bride and her husband's mother, who is of course her father's sister
(581) (Benbow 1928: 20). Badagas expect that a bride who is father's sister's daughter
to her husband will be more timid and easier to control than one who is the
(578) mother's brother's daughter. At the root of this preference lies a conflict of
roles: there is a very real problem for a Badaga if his wife's father is also his
own mother's brother, since these are two very different roles. One entails giving
his daughter to a young man, and receiving a sum of money "in return"; the other
entails acting as the young man's spiritual guide. Most Badagas feel that there is
a certain ambiguity involved if a single individual, vis-à-vis his sister's son, has
both of these roles at once. It is quite common for Badagas to marry more distant
relatives who are only "mother's brother's daughter" or "father's sister's daughter"
in a classificatory sense, however, in which case the ambiguous situation we have
described and the conflict that it might generate can both be avoided.

The Phratries

615 The most deep-seated -- and certainly the oldest -- divisions in the
Badaga community are those between the phratries. Each phratry is said to have
614 a distinct historical origin, and remains a distinguishable social entity today for
purposes of arranging marriages and celebrating certain rituals. The sibs per-
(621) haps come closer than the phratries to being corporate groups in most cases: each
hamlet is typically the home of members of one sib only. In the few cases where
families from another sib are also present, they are recognized as being fairly
121 recent immigrants, and their "native" hamlet is known to all. In view of the cen-
tral importance of the sib structure to an understanding of Badaga social organiza-
128 tion, we will now present in some detail an account of the features which distinguish
each phratry and its constituent sibs. These will be treated in the order that many

614 cases of vegetarian Adikaris marrying meat-eating Gaudas.
(582)

The word Adikari means "powerful man", and was once used as the title of a village headman appointed by some local prince. Whether any ruler was ever effectively in control of the Nilgiris before the advent of the British is uncertain; but Adikaris like to claim they were appointed as officials of a ruler who came up from Mysore.

614 The Adikari hamlets probably have closer social cohesion than any of the
619 other Badaga sibs (except for the two tiny phratries called Kumbaras and Bedas).
527 This solidarity stems from the fact that Adikaris, alone among all the 17 sibs, hold
(621) an annual "reunion". Every November they go to the village of Nellitoral, on the Coimbatore Plain near Mettupalaiyam, to worship at the place where a Lingayat saint was drowned some centuries back. It was from this spot that the original five Adikaris are supposed to have started up into the Nilgiri Hills, after having journeyed to this place from northern Mysore (Metz 1864: 50-51). It is now obligatory for at least a few men from each Adikari hamlet to attend this function each year; and members of other Badaga sibs are welcome to take part in the worship if they choose.

614 Despite this demonstration of Adikari solidarity, there have been several
(619) defections from the sib and its Lingayat values. There is one hamlet where Adikaris intermarried with Toreyas quite a few generations ago; and there they are always treated as Toreyas, although sometimes called Adikaris. In three other Gauda hamlets Adikaris have intermarried with meat-eating Gaudas. In both instances, these Adikaris are no longer vegetarians or Lingayats (Metz 1864: 50-51). In two hamlets there are vegetarian Adikaris who do not wear the lingam, but still retain the status of Adikaris. They are called Adikari, but are not considered to be

554 any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should
695 be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small
(562) boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before
(565) a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through
(609) possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than
(561) anything men might say.

Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it
593 regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his
(425) own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if
613 Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage.
571 Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet
621 will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at
578 stake: few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village
(657) boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

578 [657] insults and personal grievances. As we shall see, the fact that in-group solidarity is so strongly manifested in disputes ostensibly between two individuals is a common psychological basis for the growth of Badaga factional divisions, which typically evolve out of family feuds.

554 631 [621] [565] Historically and to some extent socially the hamlet can be seen as an extension of its gentry, its founding family: Tuneri, for example, is said to be an important village <u>because</u> its headman is the most important of all Nilgiri headmen. This is an understandable position, for every resident of Tuneri is potentially more influential than people living in a hamlet with a relatively inferior headman. But Tuneri is also an unusually large village, and this fact gives it added prestige. In the same way that a family of the gentry used to increase in prestige by increasing its numbers, a hamlet can do likewise by an increase in population. This is simply because, in the traditional setting, the headman would receive more money gifts at the weddings of girls from his village, more income from fining his villagers, and the chance of a substantial "rake-off" when he collected grain to give to the Todas and Kurumbas at each harvest. This attitude finds clear expression in a Badaga saying: "If the number of his subjects increases, the headman of the village will become a big man."

631 661 662 During the last century, before Badagas had started to use the British court system (there was only one magistrate's court in the Nilgiris), they were entirely dependent on their own headmen for favorable treatment in the hearing of disputes. In those days, whenever a headman visited another village, he could expect much more generous hospitality than he would receive today, since it might prove necessary later to look to him for support in a case. The hospitable treatment typically consisted of a big feast, to which was often added a night with whichever of the village girls he chose. Feasting, girls, cloth and money might also be

beside a stream somewhere. Some very small hamlets still have nothing more like a temple than such an object; but usually they will erect at least a small shed over the image. The average-sized hamlet (of perhaps 80-100 households) has four or five built temples, as well as various minor shrines of the kind just described. In addition there is normally a large temple common to the whole "village". Three temples in the Nilgiris (at Melur, Bokkapur and Bergani) attract devotees from all over the District for their annual festivals (Francis 1908: 316-317, 339-340). The larger temples all have Haruva or Gauda priests, and worship is done regularly once a day or once a week. Smaller temples may only be used once or twice a year, and then at a particular festival. While priests are appointed from among the villagers, or may sometimes be hereditary roles in certain families, they officiate only in their own hamlet or "village", and there is no kind of wider church-like organization to Badaga Śaivism. For the past century, however, Badagas have been making pilgrimages to various of the major South Indian temple centers, the closest being Perur, near Coimbatore, Ninjangud, near Mysore, and Palni. There has thus been contact in recent times with the "great tradition" and its philosophical literature; and this has had the effect of bringing Badaga religious practices closer to those of the plainsmen. This topic will be considered later in the thesis (cf. Chapter VII).

Lingayatism, otherwise known as Vīraśaivism, is one of the more important and most recent schools to develop in Śaivite philosophy. The origin of the present Lingayat philosophical system, qua system, can be traced quite reliably to ca. 1160 A.D. at the Central Indian city of Kalyana, where it was formulated by a saint named Basava. After him came many followers and com-

779 Because of the isolation of the Lingayat Badagas, they have only recently
776 begun to learn about the details of Vīraśaiva philosophy. They wear the lingam
(778) and bury their dead; but they worship various deities other than Śiva, just as
(764) other Badagas do, and have numerous temples with Lingayat priests but -- until two decades ago -- no monastery at all. Indeed, all seven categories of supernatural beings which we described earlier as influencing the lives of Śaivite Badagas
184 are equally respected in the Lingayat hamlets. It would probably be correct to say
779 that until the end of the last century the various Lingayat sibs differed culturally from all other Badagas only in their worship of a personal lingam and their custom of burying the dead.

795 Little need be said here about the Badaga Christians, as we must soon
(162) review their emergence as a faction. Their numbers (perhaps 2000) are divided fairly evenly between the unified Protestant Church of South India and the Roman Catholic Church. Relations between the members and clergy of these two churches are now very cordial, although this has not always been so. At the time we are presently concerned with, around 1913, there were no Roman Catholic Badagas: all of the Christians were Lutherans (Eppler 1900: passim).

• 621 795 The Badaga Christians live in the four Nilgiri towns and in several Christian hamlets. These hamlets are exogamous, except in the case where a family has migrated from one hamlet to another and may then arrange marriages with Christians in its new place of residence. In recent cases of marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, the bride will join whichever is her husband's church.

794 621 (793) Discipline in a Protestant hamlet rests in the hands of the Pastorate Committee, which is composed mainly of laymen. This is in contrast with the more

recent Catholic hamlets, where discipline is maintained by the priest himself. There is one hamlet, long the scene of bitter disputes because of its mixed composition, where now the Gaudas, Adikaris and Christians all sit together in the traditional village council. In 1913 such cooperation was not possible.

The Factions

There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850's. The challenging question that this fact poses must therefore remain unanswered: Was the emergence of factional disputes a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were supposedly on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We do not know.

There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word (kha6él, or in one dialect khaʔél; cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 79 for cognates). First, there are what might be called "personal" factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single hamlet about a villager's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga hamlets, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single hamlet (cf. Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-551; Eppler 1900: 153-155).

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From these 19th Century descriptions several accounts might be culled of the process by which factional behavior starts. A much more recent illustration of faction-formation is preferable, however, because of the subjectivity in the early missionary writings. The case I have chosen is my summary of the informant's account (and, as in my other quotations from field-notes, the name used is fictitious).

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"Early in 1963, when one hamlet was planning to stage a funeral, the headman asked every household to donate three meals for the visitors expected. One man, Raman, was requested to prepare four meals, either through mistake or for some unknown reason; and he did as asked, but only to find that nobody came to his house to eat them. Why this should be is not clear: apparently Raman was not a very pleasant person to get along with. He complained that the cost of the meals should be refunded to him from the general village funds, but the headman decided to do nothing about it. From this situation two factions arose which divided the entire hamlet into two separate communities.

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"At first only three households closely related to him supported Raman; but then, after another funeral had occurred in the hamlet, the other people there who were related to those three households, because they were all in the same lineage, found themselves drawn into Raman's faction. At this point the hamlet council, led by the headman, forbad any women to help members of Raman's faction by such duties as working in their fields. Because of this proscription there were a number of women who found themselves forced into joining Raman's faction: they perhaps had no strong feelings about the actual dispute, but they were too poor to forego the Rs. 1 1/2 they were earning as daily laborers in the fields of those people.

"Thus within a few weeks from the start of the grievance typical factional

518 behavior was characterizing interaction in this hamlet: no one was supposed to
621 talk to members of the opposite faction, or to visit their houses and eat with them. (In effect, what had been a single hamlet now took on the organization of two non-communicating but interdigitated villages.) Within two months from the initial funeral there was a complete break-down in hamlet cooperation at the celebration of festivals: each faction celebrated its own, separately from the other. Yet some ten weeks after the dispute had begun, there was already evidence that the factional structure of the social organization was falling apart. The people could no longer maintain a rigid separation between the two factions. Members of one faction were coming around to the back doors of friends in the opposite faction for supposedly secret visits. But everybody knew what was really going on: it was already acceptable behavior to talk to members of the other faction on the street, so long as no interdining occurred.

518 "People in Raman's hamlet recognize that the factional organization is
602 disappearing slowly as the weeks pass. This trend is spear-headed by women from
621 other hamlets who have married into this one. In a number of instances there are pairs of sisters from another hamlet who have married men of opposite factions in this hamlet. Where that is the case, the sisters will feel seriously inconvenienced in being separated by a dispute which does not really concern them; and they will take every opportunity to meet secretly and interact with each other across the cleavage which currently separates their husbands. Nobody in the hamlet really expects the factions to become separated further: these kinship ties will slowly but surely bring the two sides together."

518 By comparison with such frequent and short-term factional disputes as this example, the all-Nilgiri factions are few but long-lived. Altogether only a half-

121 sification of the rural economy. This was especially true in those villages where much of the land had to remain "dry" because it could not be reached by the irrigation system. The change to a cash crop integrated what had been relatively isolated villages into the regional economy; previously they had been more economically self-sufficient. The increased range of economic relations, Epstein claims (1962: 315), was associated with a diminution of traditional economic ties within one village: farmers thought it expedient to save capital by ceasing to give customary dues to their clients. This was not simply a matter of withholding what the clients were entitled to, however, for it released them from traditional obligations and allowed them to seek better employment in the regional economy. Of the two villages studied by Epstein, the irrigated one changed its internal economic relations less than the "dry" village did. Irrigation boosted production without very much altering the traditional economic differentiation that separated farmers and their clients. By comparison, the "dry" village was obliged to diversify its economy much more, and as a result its integration with the regional economy went much further; economic relationships within that village were altered very radically.

433 ●621 [121] Diversification of the economy has also occurred in Badaga hamlets during the last few decades. Indeed, the most affluent and tension-free hamlets today are the ones with the most diversified economies: tea, coffee, market vegetables, eucalyptus oil and poultry are all produced in certain hamlets, and ensure a steady income there even if one or two of the items are ruined by disease or weather in any particular year. At the same time we note that in the Nilgiris the economically more "progressive" Badagas (a great majority of the community) have severed all or most of their ties with Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas, just as the more "progressive" farmers near Mandya have severed ties with their traditional clients and

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175 (101) who fled from that situation and settled on the hills as Badagas (i.e., "northerners") came mainly from the agricultural Okkaliga caste in the Mysore Plain. What their social organization may have been there is obscure and irrelevant. It seems that the small groups of refugees, torn from their caste affiliations, were so fragmented that the basic social unit among them as settlers was the joint family, not the *jati* or caste. It is still the ideal residential unit.

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Today we find no castes in Badaga society. These people live in a tribal milieu, surrounded by the indigenous Toda, Kota, Kurumba, and Iruḷa tribes, and they have become fairly tribe-like themselves. The community is divided into ten phratries which are mainly endogamous. Two of these are vegetarian; all are primarily agricultural. Each phratry is made up of a number of exogamous clans, anything from two to sixteen of them, and these clans are in turn segmented into quite a few exogamous lineages. As with the famed Nigerian case of the Tallensi, there are actually lineages within lineages, so that we may need to speak about maximal (*kuḍumbu*), major (*kutti*), minor (*kutti*), and minimal (*guppu*) lineages, even though not every clan currently has all four levels of lineage. Segments of the minimal lineages are in fact extended families, counting back for about five generations, and with most of their members still alive.

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These larger social units have a complicated history and organization (detailed in Hockings 1980), and they will not be considered further in this present study. It is nonetheless relevant to mention how they fit into the residence pattern. The Badagas live in about 370 exclusively Badaga villages which are normally exogamous. Marriage is virilocal. Each village is thus the home of one or more patrilineages all belonging to one clan (and hence, one phratry). But with few exceptions a clan is not confined to a single village.

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One particular village, Tu:ne:ri, was the first place to be settled, in the late 16th century, as a result of which its headman became the paramount chief. This position, like all Badaga headmanships, has descended patrilineally within the family. Every other village has its own headman, descended from the founder, and clusters of neighbouring villages form a commune around one particular village whose headman is also acknowledged to be the commune headman. Furthermore, the whole of the plateau area has been divided into four quarters, and one man is recognized as the regional headman in each quarter. At every one of the four levels of headmanship there is also a council, made up of inferior headmen (except in the case of the village council, which consists of lineage elders who work with the traditional village headman).

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The society is relatively homogeneous in the sense that, although the ten phratries are ranked into a widely accepted hierarchy, all families were traditionally subsistence farmers of millet and all lived by essentially the same kinship rules. We will therefore be able to explore the meaning of these rules without constant reference to exceptions and alternatives found only in certain sectors of the society.

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9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

dynasty of Madura. To these Nâyakkas or Vaḍugas the Baḍagas were allied, and they were thus originally the Śûdras of the Maisûr country. They were, however, completely Âryanised before they commenced their march three centuries ago to the district where they now live, and it is therefore not surprising that they should have brought with them many of the ancient Âryan institutions.

Chief among these may be noted the system of local self-government that even yet exists among them though in an impaired form. From the traces that are still left it is evident that the village community system prevailed among them in a complete state in the old days of their settlement on the Nîlagiris.

Each village has a head man called the Monegar. He is generally the richest man in the village, and is regarded as the highest authority upon all subjects. Before the year 1820, while the Nîlagiri district had not yet been made a separate district but only formed a single tâlûk in the Coimbatore district, the power of these Monegars was much greater than it is now. At that time communication was difficult and much of the Nîlagiris had not yet been opened up, and in the different villages the Monegar was the paramount power. Stories are current even to the present day of a Monegar of one village who ordered an individual who had disobeyed his orders to be covered with a slab of stone. Unless the disobedience was of a most flagrant nature and really amounted to a determined disregard of constituted authority, such a high-handed exercise of autocratic power must have been resented by the people, for the Monegar was not an irresponsible autocrat, but a ruler holding his power by the goodwill of the whole community. The British Government has made these Monegars officials in connection with the revenue administration of the villages, but apart from this they still have certain important duties to perform in connection with the social life of the Baḍaga community. In all religious and social questions the Baḍagas go to the village Monegar. If the question is a simple one he settles it himself, if it is intricate he calls a village council to which the elders of the village are summoned. After taking their opinion he passes an order which must be obeyed, for his word is law.

Questions of partition, of cultivation and of outcasting, disputes and other minor matters, are thus settled by the village council with the Monegar as its head. It is, however, in questions arising in connexion with marriage that the Monegar and his council play their most important part. When a girl in one village is going to

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

622 584 [623] be married to a boy in another village, the parents of the young people have to represent the matter to the Monegars of their respective villages. This is done after the courtship stage has been reached and the young people have agreed to marry one another, but even then if for any reason the Monegar forbids the contracting of the marriage the matter must at once stop, and no appeal to any higher authority is possible. Such a thing rarely occurs, but when it does there is no remedy, except that it may be possible to induce the Monegar to alter his decision by means of a judiciously administered bribe.

595 Owing to the existence of polyandry and ideas connected with it, things that would be regarded by other peoples as the gravest offences against morality are tolerated or even approved of by 622 627 601 Badaga public opinion. Offences against the curious rules for the regulation of family life that obtain among the Badagas are brought to the village Monegar, who punishes the culprits by inflicting fines upon them. But however lax the Badagas may be in their ideas of morality within the family, they regard with the greatest dis- 622 627 684 pleasure and visit with the severest punishment any one who goes astray with a man of another caste, even though he be of the Brahman caste. The village Monegar conducts an enquiry, and if he finds the guilt of the accused person proved, he pronounces sentence of excommunication, and the unfortunate woman loses her caste and is driven from the community.

622 627 586 [623] The village Monegar is also president of the divorce court—for, as was stated in my previous article, divorce, which is not uncommon in the Badaga community, can, after the cord-tying ceremony has been performed, be granted only by a regular decision of the Monegar and his village council. If a man and his wife do not like one another they have to bring the matter before the Monegar. He assembles a court, and himself acting as its president sanctions a separation or deals with the matter otherwise. If separation is 586 ordered the person who is to take the divorced woman as his wife returns the *Sila hayé* or cloth money (Rs. 1½), and the price originally paid to her by her first husband. The children, if there be any, belong to the father. The woman if she dislikes her second husband may apply for a second separation. Society does not look upon her as a bad woman because of these divorces or separations, and recognises all her children as lawfully born Badagas.

621 622 623 735 One more illustration may be given of the functions of the Monegar and the village council. If any Badaga family becomes very